601

Father's si. so. da. /uhpuná?ma/
Father's mo. br. son /uhpúyu/ w.s., /ahčíyu/ m.s.
Mother's br. son's wife /súya/
Husband's fa. si. son /apípi/
Mother's br. son's son /apínʸa/ m.s.
Father's father's si. son /apíku/ m.s.
Mother's br. so. daughter /unʸunátacúhki/

842

Pregnancy and Birth. The Cayapa understand that there is a connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy but believe that repeated intercourse is necessary for conception. A woman is known to be pregnant when the menstrual period ceases and the areolae and nipples /čukápa/ become enlarged and darker. There do not seem to be any abnormal food cravings nor are there any food taboos. There is some feeling of "shame" concerning pregnancy, and a woman never tells her husband or anyone else that she is pregnant. It will soon be obvious to everyone anyway.

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The woman continues her normal routine until she is well advanced in her pregnancy, at which time she remains in the house where she eventually gives birth. Children have been born at fiestas, and I was a partial witness to such a birth at a fiesta at Sapallo Grande. The party was an ofrenda given by Marianito Añapa in honor of his parents, who had died

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[769]

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /išui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.. 163 842 [775]

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it. 597 848 [612] [847] [783]

There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are 597 591 428

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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seldom brought home to the confined child; the adults eat it as they pluck it from the tree or purchase it from traveling vendors at the riverside. During his fifth year when he is permitted to move about in the sunlight and secure fruit, the incidence of skin disease decreases and his rickety appearance disappears.

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[262]

Children are wanted and beloved. As an example of permissiveness, they are allowed to indulge in cookies, candies, sugar and soft drinks, but conversely an element of teasing often enters the picture. To illustrate, a small child will be offered a goody, which, when he reaches for it, will be snatched away. Reactions to this affront vary; some children cry; others just sit looking forlorn. The adults seem to enjoy this teasing. An impressive example of contrastive behavior presented itself one day as a group of Indian women and their children came to visit us. Everyone was seated on the floor in a circle, and the conversation was desultory. Finally, a woman took a piece of candy and handed it to my son who was sitting on his mother's lap. As he reached out eagerly for the tidbit, the woman brought her hand back. At this everyone laughed, but the child

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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came close to our house. He cried out, wailing in the Cayapa manner, "Here is the house of Don Milton where we used to go together; it gives me pain to think that we will no longer go there, ay . . ." At this he passed by our house, and we could hear him call out landmarks that were familiar to him and to his wife--landmarks that they would no longer see together. Finally he moved out of sight and out of hearing. We were quite disturbed over this, not only because she was a friend, but also because we had an ample supply of antivenom and had not been notified of the snakebite when we might have helped her. People were saying that Aurelio did not hire effective brujos. They said that the ones he hired were known to be ignorant of snakebite curing. Aurelio had been married for about ten years and had no children. His wife gave birth once prematurely, and the child died; ever since this, unfortunately, she had been sterile. This was a great sadness to them, for they wanted children very much. When I asked others why Aurelio had never adopted children, the answer always was, "He wants his own blood."

Funerals tend to begin late in the afternoon,

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6



## CHAPTER III

## COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Children are important to the Cayapa and are welcomed because it is essential that a man or a woman have children who can perform a boda or memorial feast for the deceased parent(s) several years after death. The spirit of the dead parent would be unhappy and vexed, if this were not done. In addition, as we have discussed, the family is economically important. There is ample motivation for the Cayapa to begin a family and a variety of methods are available.

> When a young man or a young woman desires to marry a certain person, all work other than that absolutely necessary, and all social relations with other individuals, are at an end. Such a person sits throughout the day without speaking to anyone, and no matter how much he or she may be addressed or made fun of, etiquette does not permit such a person to respond or even to laugh. . . A young swain then bides his time until the other members of his family have retired for the night, when he takes his canoe and paddles to a point near the house of the young woman he wishes to marry. On nearing her home he sings softly certain magic love-songs and then cautiously approaches the house. He then, according to some informants, attracts her attention by one

among the Cayapa. It is forbidden by the Church through the person of the priest, who is seldom seen. Many Cayapa maintain that divorce is not proper. At the present time, divorce is possible for both sexes, but it is much more difficult for a woman to obtain. In one instance, a woman was married to a mental defective and she left him with the full approval of the community. In the case of the crippled Julio Tapullo, his wife was not permitted a divorce even though Julio had been very miserly with her. On the other hand, a man may divorce his wife if she is barren or has too many still-births. In one case, a man beat his wife because she only gave birth to girls; he threatened either to kill her or to throw her out of the home (divorce), if the next child were a girl.

The divorce procedure is quite simple. The woman is simply told to leave! There is usually some grumbling by the woman's parents, but to my knowledge, complaints are never made to any of the officials. Julio Tapullo's case above was complicated by polygyny.

Santiagueño hires a Negro to bring his children back after his wife left him. Santiagueño Anapa's first

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